

## Wages policy defeated, but

# Right-wing Labour

# builds support for Tories

BY MICHAEL BANDA

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The right wing can demonstrate this support for the Tories in such an unashamed fashion because the preparations of the Tories and the deathless retreat of the trade union leaders encourages them to do so.

They are also assisted in these reactionary manoeuvres by the 'opposition' of centrists like Stan Orme and Eric Heffer, who now fulfill the role abdicated by Foot and Castle in their quest for respectability and portfolios.

Blackpool is the logical outcome of the Brighton Trades Union Congress.

The failure and refusal of the trade union leaders to prepare a co-ordinated campaign on unemployment, wages and mergers which would topple the Tories, as well as their pathetic attempts to continue the dialogue of the deaf with Tory Ministers, inevitably strengthened the Labour Party right wing.

This is an unalterable fact—however paradoxical it may seem to the parliamentary cretins of Labour's 'left' and the reformist Communist Party leaders.

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on economic policy or, at least, not to press it.

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BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

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Main topic of discussion in their talks is likely to be the Middle East.

Tito was for many years Nasser's closest ally among the so-called non-aligned nations.

Nixon's visit is undoubtedly closely connected with furthering attempts to foist a settlement on the people's of the Middle East.

The very fact that the leader of world imperialism is invited to a state junket in Yugoslavia is an index of the extent to which imperialism now relies on the Stalinists to carry out its counter-revolutionary plans.

There were also talks yesterday on closer trading relations between the two countries.

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In this sense it can be said that Nasser died in appointment with history and his departure brings to an end a dramatic chapter of collaboration and conflict between imperialism and the colonial bourgeoisie.

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We do so because the property relations, despite, or rather because of, the reforms of Nasser, remain capitalist and the role of imperialist finance capital in Egypt, as much as in India, has not changed.

If anything it has extended its tentacles into every sector of Egyptian economy.

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The company had leased the die from Ford at a nominal rent, he added.

At Ford's Halewood, Merseyside, factory, assembly workers are to meet on Sunday to discuss their demand to reduce the number of night shifts from ten to nine a fortnight.

This demand has been under discussion at the factory for some time.

The company maintains that any changes can only be made at national level, and adds that supplies are geared to a ten-night system.

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## Die-cast swop puts jobs in peril

By an industrial correspondent

OVER 250 jobs are in danger at a Midland foundry that makes Ford vehicle parts.

Ford chartered a plane to fly a 14-ton die from the plant to Germany after a strike over mobility of labour stopped production.

Yesterday, Ford said they could give no guarantee the die will be returned when the strike is over.

Ford's move is a new development in international strikebreaking and an unwelcome extension of Ford's existing policy of diverting strike-hit production to the continent.

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Employers' resistance has been stiffened by top-level Tory government intervention: employment minister Robert Carr has refused to allow his department to help reach a compromise settlement.

This is clearly an attempt to break the wage fight of a major section of low-paid workers before the government brings in its anti-union plans.

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From DAVID MAUDE in Blackpool

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A three-to-two majority against an executive-backed resolution emphasizing the need for an incomes policy staved off an open rift.

But Shadow Chancellor Roy Jenkins issued a low-key but unmistakable warning that Party leaders were firmly committed to some form of restraint despite conference decision.

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And it is unlikely that they will take much more notice of their second defeat yesterday morning; on the key issue of mergers and takeovers.

It was incomprehensible that the National Executive should be pressing the incomes-policy motion after last year's 'blood letting', said Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers' president Hugh Scanlon—revealing that heavy union pressure behind the scenes had failed to budge the party leaders.

### Anticipate

If it went through, he warned, 'Edward Heath will be able to say when his party's conference opens in this town next week that we are just anticipating what he wants to do immediately parliament re-opens.'

'If one man is free to obtain the best possible return on his invested capital,' said Transport and General Workers' assistant secretary Harry Urwin 'working men must be free to obtain the best possible return on their invested labour.'

He predicted divisions in the movement which could lose it the next general election if the motion was carried.

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SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Trotsky Memorial Meeting

GLASGOW

Partick Burgh Hall (nr Merkland St underground)

7.30 p.m.

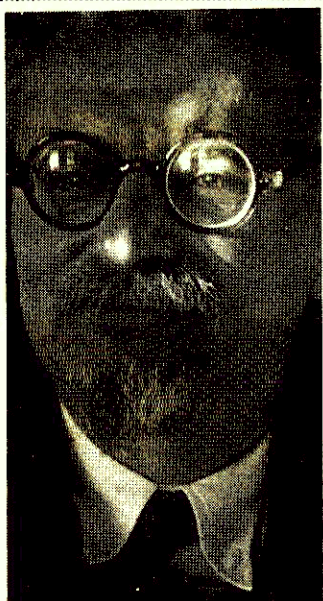
Admission 2s.

'Trotsky and the coming English Revolution'

Speaker: G. Healy (SLL national secretary)

Sunday

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Forward with the first Trotskyist daily newspaper - WORKERS PRESS

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### INDEPENDENCE

The Trotskyist movement, while it has defended the Nasser regime from the aggressions of Zionism and imperialism unconditionally, nevertheless fights, just as uncompromisingly, for the political independence of the working class against the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

Only through such a struggle can genuine independence from imperialism be won.

An indispensable pre-condition for such a struggle is a clear class analysis of the Nasser regime, its material origins, its class limits and its international connections.

The bourgeoisie class that Nasser represented, his 'Arab socialism' and 'African socialism' notwithstanding, was from birth an appendage of the feudal aristocracy and of French and British capital.

### ORGANIZED

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# Heffer tries to justify Wilson's six years

ERIC HEFFER, the self-styled 'revolutionary reformist' Labour MP for Liverpool Walton, initiated a 'great debate' in the Labour 'left' organ 'Tribune' last month.

by John SPENCER



HEFFER

His article 'Forget the splitters—it's the Labour Party the left must capture' set off a series of plaintive contributions from 'left' MPs and their friends in the Communist Party trying to justify six years of servile opportunism under Harold Wilson.

This week, with another article headed 'The left and the Labour Party' ('Tribune', September 25) Heffer sums up the debate in the same vein.

Heffer's new-style 'revolutionary reformism', it soon transpires, is no different from ordinary reformism.

'Just look' he says, 'at some of the reforms that the Labour government did carry through, and those which parliament carried through even without official government backing over the last six years.'

His exceptionally threadbare list makes interesting reading: 'Wage-related sickness and unemployment benefits; the abolition of the National Assistance Board and the development of the Department of Social Security; the Redundancy Payments Act; the Rent Act of 1965, giving security of tenure; the rent rebate schemes; the Leasehold Reform Act; the Race Relations Act; the Trade Descriptions Act; the development of the hospital building programme and the advancement of health centres; the ending of the East of Suez policy; with the abolition of some (sic) overseas bases and cuts in defence expenditure.'

### Short

A short enough list for six years' work, but it gets less and less convincing when we realize that:

THE 'reforms' of unemployment and Social Security benefits were made just in time to accommodate the largest number of unemployed since 1940.

THE Redundancy Payments Act was designed to sweeten otherwise unpalatable productivity schemes and turn unemployment into the more genteel 'redundancy'.

THE Rent Act and rent and rate rebate schemes provided Tory councils with the excuse they needed to undertake 'fair rent' schemes.

THE Race Relations Act merely supplemented the racialist Immigration Acts, strengthened by the Wilson government.

As for the Labour government's policy East of Suez, with its servile support of the Vietnam war... but there is no need to go on.

Heffer's carefully selected short-list of the Wilson government's 'achievements' hardly stands up to the most cursory examination.

But replying to Raymond Challinor, who claimed 'Parliament now is not even a means for obtaining reforms', Heffer gets quite indignant:

'Perhaps Raymond Challinor does not accept these as reforms and considers them of no importance. His argument is really dangerous because it is a recipe for doing nothing until the "revolution" comes.'

So, says Heffer with a routine sneer at the idea of revolution (it's all right on the Continent, but it's not British) reformism did work after all.

We may only be able to offer this rag-bag of so-called reforms. But we'd never have got them if it hadn't been for the 'realist' left MPs.

This is humbug.

Heffer is simply covering up in the crudest manner for Wilson's treachery. The balance sheet of Wilson's government is a legacy of betrayal which now leaves the basic working-class organizations exposed to the most dangerous Tory threat they have ever faced. And Heffer claims Wilson and his government were doing good.

But there is worse to come.

Heffer now has to cover his left flank as well. So he boasts of his record of opposition to Wilson:

'I spoke at the May Day Rally in 1969 in Liverpool organized by the Trades Council, which was in fact a one-day strike against the proposed legislation.'

Yes you did, Mr Heffer. You finally opposed the anti-union laws—four years after Wilson and Castle began to prepare to bring them in, four years during which the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists demanded the 'left' fight Wilson's policies, only to be ridiculed and rebuffed in numerous Westminster lobbies.

### Abstention

The working class finally forced your hand and put an end to your long record of unprincipled abstention over crucial questions.

Heffer goes on to brag that "'Tribune' MPs supported the seamen' in the 1966 strike. This is an outright lie.

When Harold Wilson brought forward his emergency powers to break the seamen's strike, not a single Labour MP voted against. That was how Heffer and the 'Tribune'-ites 'supported' the seamen.

As Heffer correctly comments: 'Such actions can be multiplied by the score.'

Indeed they can.

After this rather pathetic attempt to fake up a new set of left credentials, Heffer goes on to defend another aspect of the 'Tribune' group's policy—and in the process to woo the Stalinists.

In a passage which might well have been lifted bodily from the 'British Road to Socialism' he says:

'It is clear that the attacks on capitalism... cannot and should not be limited to parliamentary action, but neither should parliamentary action be scorned as of little importance.'

We have seen just what Heffer construes as 'opposition' to government policy—his criteria are a little different from workers' outside parliament, who expect MPs to vote against things they oppose.

If you think like Heffer that occasional abstention adds up to opposition, you are at liberty to believe him when he claims to have opposed the Wilson government on a whole range of issues. But you don't have to, because he gives himself away at the end.

'It is true that Harold Wilson was not opposed for the leadership of the Parliamentary Labour Party immediately following the General Election, but the left put forward Michael Foot for Deputy Leader and a number of MPs in the "Tribune" group stood for the Shadow Cabinet.'

So, Heffer admits, even after the June 18 debacle, the 'Tribune'-ites still did nothing to remove Wilson. Indeed they supported him continuing as Leader, since they advanced no alternative.

### Hostile

And Foot, their candidate for Deputy Leader, was so hostile to Wilson that immediately after the voting he joined his Shadow Cabinet as Minister of Power. According to Heffer, this is where the real struggle is.

This sequence of events gives a hollow ring to his next sentence:

'In standing for these positions, we were not standing in the abstract, but on the basis of policies which we have been and are advocating, which are clearly socialist in context and vitally different to those advanced by those who have held cabinet jobs.'

'To suggest that there is no debate and that we are not seeking new policies is really to deny the facts,' he adds, protesting a good deal too much.

'The truth is,' he sums up, 'that the contribution made by left-wing MPs, left-wing trade unionists and constituency party members has been much more positive for socialism than that of the small groups or even comrades like John Saville.'

'One is really entitled to ask what they were really doing during the last six years.'

'Writing articles, pamphlets or books from the comfortable chairs of university and newspaper offices is useful and important work,' he adds patronizingly, 'but it can be somewhat "ivory towerish" and I suspect this has too often been the case.'

Whereas lounging on the leather government benches of the House of Commons is presumably the highest level of socialist struggle.

## General Motors men dig in

'THEY TOLD us the strike would last till next year. We're going to see Christmas on these picket lines, but we're fighting for a purpose.'

These words from a picket at a Chevrolet plant in Michigan typify the fighting spirit of the third of a million strikers at the General Motors factories throughout the US and Canada.

Nor are the strikers daunted by the long queues for strike pay—\$30 a week for a single man and \$40 for those with families.

The strikers all know that the union's mammoth \$120 million fighting fund will be exhausted in under two months' time.

In a feeble echo of his membership's willingness to carry right on past this point, United Auto Workers' leader Leonard Woodcock said:

'We have to be prepared to fight, as we used to do, in an old-fashioned way. A union with money is a bureaucracy. A union without money is a crusade.'

Though Woodcock, of course, hopes to find some way of sliding off of the fight long before it reaches such a stage.

The intransigence of General Motors' management is already causing thousands of workers in component suppliers to be laid off.

At the A. O. Smith Corporation — a Milwaukee car frames manufacturer — 3,000 of the 5,500 labour force have been laid off.

And this is only one of the 39,000 firms that sell goods or services to General Motors—the world's largest manufacturer.

The near bankrupt Penn Central railway has begun laying off workers who usually handle General Motors products.

By the end of a month a million men could be laid off. The General Motors' strike is the enormously powerful spearhead of the US workers'

wages offensive now that the ball has been passed on by the Teamsters, after winning their \$1.65-an-hour increase.

But the union bureaucracy emasculates this strength—by going for the smallest demands that it thinks could be sold to the rank and file and by restricting action to only one of the Big Three car manufacturers.

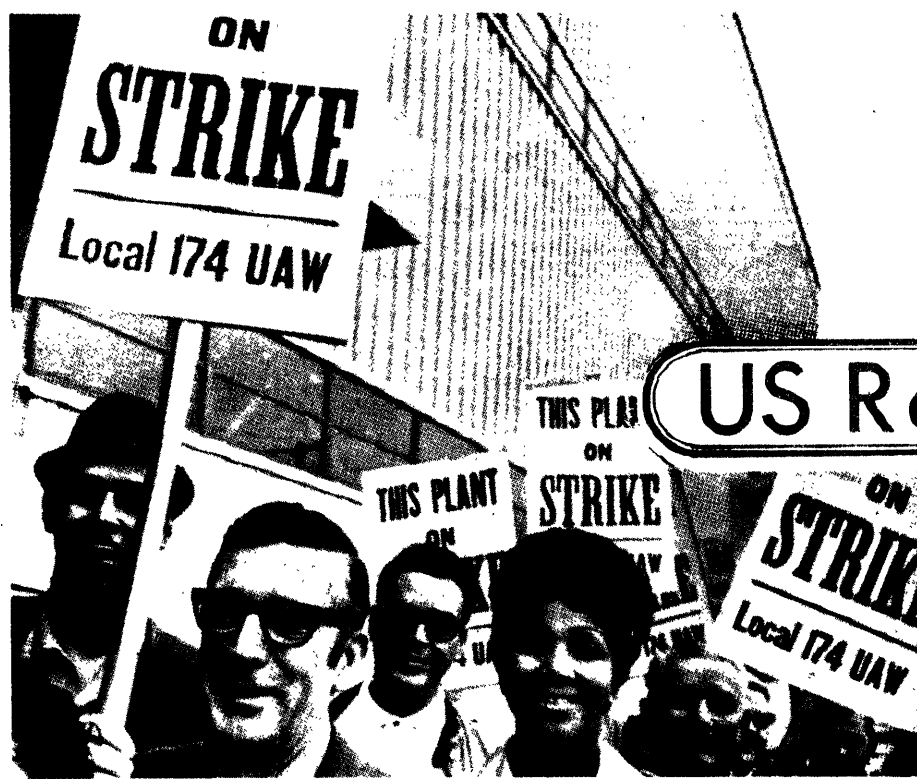
Events at the General Motors' Fremont plant in California are typical of the struggle strikers are having to wage against the UAW bureaucracy.

Union officials failed to organize pickets at the plant gates for the midnight strike deadline on September 18.

Fremont men had to take the initiative to prevent management moving newly completed trucks from the plant.

The viciousness of the union bureaucracy towards the rank and file and especially one that looks like putting the leadership on the spot was soon to be exposed at Fremont.

As the pickets congregated in the street, after setting light to a garbage truck which was leaving the plant, two police cars and an ambulance approached. The cars, having lights and



## HOW GIs ORGANIZE

### US Round-up

MONDAY night's 'World in Action' programme about the United States Army in Vietnam showed pretty convincingly that the GIs, especially in the infantry where the 'grunts' bear the brunt of the fighting and the casualties, no longer want to fight for Nixon or for capitalism.

They may not want to die for Nixon, but they certainly show courage in fighting their biggest battles—against the Army's top brass and its repressive apparatus.

Disaffection among GIs has honeycombed the Army with hundreds of semi-clandestine organizations, many producing cyclostyled or offset newspapers exposing infringements of GI rights, racism by the officers, and harassment of militants.

The underground newspapers take advantage of the GIs' rights under article 381-135 of the military code, which states that 'Unit commanders shall further insure that there is no interference with the US Mail and that every individual under his command has the right to read and retain commercial publications for his own use.'

At least that's what the law says, though papers like 'The Next Step... ' published among US soldiers in Germany find it prudent to add a warning:

'You may have gotten this paper from a German you didn't know; it may have been slipped under your door; or you may have found it simply lying somewhere. This is called "covering

are fit only for the waste-paper bin.

How does Heffer propose to change this?

All he can say is:

'This is a question which has been long debated in the party and many attempts have been made to get the balance right.'

### 'Balancing'

So for Heffer, in any case, it is simply a question of 'balancing' the requirements of the entrenched bureaucracy against rank-and-file demands.

This relationship, he says, 'is not yet satisfactory'. Heffer not only suffers from the illusion that he can reform capitalism, but hopes also to reform the Labour bureaucracy.

His article is nothing more than an apology for Wilson and bankrupt reformism.

He and his 'Tribune'-ite allies will do nothing to fight for socialist policies, but they will do all they can to obstruct the building of a revolutionary leadership inside the working class. Such a leadership can only be built in the sharpest conflict with 'lefts' in the 'Tribune' group.

### Vestige

But the party leaders long ago emancipated themselves from the slightest vestige of control by conference.

As far as the party leaders are concerned, conference decisions

### Pertinence

Yet in the very next paragraph he admits the pertinence of the question 'why did the so-called left, after getting into a position of power and influence in the

Labour Party, end up with policies that were less than socialist?'

Heffer cannot bring himself to say that Wilson, Castle and the rest of the so-called 'left', the 'Tribune' group included, followed—and follow—policies which are not only 'less than socialist', but pro-capitalist to the core.

And his answer to the question is even more evasive.

'Much of the old left was elitist in theory and practice,' he says. But he has already made it clear he considers the life of a 'left' MP infinitely superior to academics, writers and the 'comrades in the smaller groups', not to mention the working class.

one's ass'. We're damned sure the brass is not going to be too pleased by 'The Next Step... ' and judging from military policies in the past on such things, we must take measures and precautions to avoid their unnecessary meddling.'

'The Next Step... ' carries reports on the W Virginia disabled miners' strike, on black strikers in the South, on racialism in the Army and Nixon's investigation team, on the Soliday three, who face death in the California state gas chamber. Its editorial comment quite openly takes the line that 'the enemy is at home'.

'The struggle of the working people,' it says, 'is important to enlisted men because they are the working class in uniform... most enlisted men will be returning to the working force on the outside... to jobs that are dwindling in number, to paychecks that won't stretch, to debts, bills and mortgages up to their necks. They'll begin to struggle because they have to...'

'At home when people challenge the very roots of the problem the troops are called out—in the ghetto for instance, like the 101st Abn in Detroit. Troops are also used against workers, to break strikes.'

'It happened in 1941 against aviation workers in California, in 1948 against meatpackers in Minnesota, and in 1970 against postal workers in New York.'

'And it will happen again... Only the collective might of the American working people, black and white, in uniform and out, can ensure that the military is withdrawn from every country in the world, its present command disbanded and its arms placed in the service of the united working people to wrest control of society from its present rulers...'

'To give that struggle, in the military and at home, an independent form and a determined leadership—that is the next step.'

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REVIEW BY BERNARD FRANKS

# TAYLORISM AND THE UNITED STATES

**THE RELATIONSHIP** between early work-study systems and the leaders of the American trades unions is divided into two basic periods—the hostility up to 1920 and the collaboration in the 1920s.

Up to the time of his death in 1915 the attitudes of F. W. Taylor dominated 'scientific management'.

He saw his work-rationalization systems as fundamentally opposed to trade unionism and maintained that if his work and payment methods were introduced correctly into a company they could destroy any basis for union organization which existed there.

By making separate arrangements with each worker on working methods and pay, Taylor believed it possible to build up a special army which would operate at any speeds required.

Any operatives who opposed management's right to control all working operations would be sacked without trouble.

Taylor also explained that his system of simplifying working operations would eventually eliminate the need for skilled men and women.

Not only would it be possible to cut labour costs by speeding-up half a factory force and sacking the rest, but it would also be possible to replace skilled and semi-skilled machinists with lower-paid labourers.

Nadworny gives an example of what happened when Taylor outlined his favourite example of speed-up in action to a popular journal in 1911.

"In an article for 'American Magazine', Taylor told the story of 'Schmidt', a Bethlehem

pig-iron handler, whom Taylor trained to carry a daily load of 47½ tons instead of the usual 12½ tons. As a reward, the labourer's pay was raised from \$1.15 to \$1.85 per day.

Many readers were offended by the fact that 380 per cent more work was elicited from the worker for a mere 60 per cent increase in pay! Letters to that effect bombarded the editorial offices of the magazine.

get the system introduced in the first place.

It was the consultant Robert Valentine who first clearly understood that the union leaders were, in general, not politically opposed to capitalism and its methods and would quite willingly encourage Taylor's methods if only his uncompromising hostility to the unions could be broken down.

This was confirmed in the 1914-1918 war, when the majority of union leaders, far from rejecting the predatory and parasitic nature of capitalist war, called on the working class to assist the war effort by increasing productivity.

Many consultants who had joined government departments found themselves working on production committees along with union officials and quickly realized that collective bargaining with such people, far from being a danger to production, would be a valuable asset.

Another factor favouring 'co-operation' was the Russian Revolution. Many US employers suddenly became deeply concerned to involve the working class in the running of capitalism and to oppose the spread of the fearful idea that workers should forcefully take over the factories and run them under a totally different system.

After the war, the Taylorist consultants went to great pains to maintain this new collaboration and installed participation (with union officials) as a basic part of the policy of scientific management.

"The 'new unionism' talked 'the language of the efficiency engineer' because, for once, it had been invited into a sort of inner circle to participate, however indirectly, in the development of a managerial programme.

"However superficial the talk might have been, it was the language of some friends and allies, and therefore relatively acceptable."

"The revolutionary middle class in France was so successful in shattering the old apparatus of aristocratic rule that it found itself out in front of a popular movement prepared to go to still greater lengths in the pursuit of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' in other words seeking to transform equality from an abstraction into an economic reality.

For a short period, as the outbreak of European war and the threat of counter-revolution from the new bourgeois regime with almost insurmountable difficulties, the middle class was obliged to compromise.

Men from the working class were granted responsible jobs in the administration; popular political societies and newspapers flourished; in Paris the affairs of the 48 new Sections were managed by democratically-elected committees, and public assemblies, open to all citizens, were summoned several times a week.

The reaction after July (Thermidor) 1794 was savage. Already, at the threshold of the 19th century, the French capitalist class demonstrated decisively that it was prepared

to exchange the political 'liberty and equality' of 1789 for Napoleon's dictatorship, if the lower classes of society presumed to take advantage of 'liberty' to threaten middle-class economic and social supremacy.

Cobb's book concentrates mainly on this crucial period in the 1790s, but he makes no attempt to draw the lessons which link it with later working-class struggles.

On the contrary, Cobb is a very conscious opponent of Marxism and, indeed, of historical 'synthesis' in any form.

"No one is likely to accuse me of writing history that is either comparative or scientific, or of seeking to establish general laws," he boasts in the Introduction.

Far from being averse to generalizations, Cobb produces many extremely crude ones which happen to fit in with his own preconceptions.

For example, on the reliability of the country policeman's reports to his superiors, 'he is both too unimaginative and too honourable to invent'.

"Several heads and headless bodies cry out endlessly against the Revolution and all its works". Or this: "The history of popular protest is generally also that of failure, disenchantment and ultimate hopelessness" (!)

His denigration of the political wing of the sans-culottes (who were 'rough and ready people... not political theorists') is perhaps the most serious distortion into which Cobb's prejudices lead him.

He mentions Babeuf, one of the most advanced exponents of 'practical equality' (i.e. an early form of socialism), merely in order to demonstrate that his followers were not the numerical majority of the sans-culottes in Paris, and that the sans-culottes movement did not contain the numerical majority of the lower-class population of France.

Starting from the obvious

# BOOKS

## 'SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT AND THE UNIONS—1900-1932. A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS'

By Milton J. Nadworny  
Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1955

## 'THE POLICE AND THE PEOPLE—FRENCH POPULAR PROTEST 1789-1820'

By Richard Cobb  
Oxford University Press 1970. 393 pages. £4

By 1919, the AFL leadership was calling on the Federal Government to subsidize research into the means of increasing productivity. Leading time-and-motion consultants were being asked to contribute to union magazines.

Gompers, who in 1911 had

designated scientific management as a method of getting the most out of the worker before sending him to the junk pile, in 1920 was combining with leading Taylorite consultants to edit a book on production methods.

Other union leaders began playing a leading part in effi-

ciency drives. Head of the hosiery workers' union Gustave Geiges often appeared at Taylor Society meetings and eventually submitted proposals to the employers which included joint supervision of time-and-motion studies and recommendations that workers tend two knitting machines instead of one.

The seal of approval was finally placed on scientific management when William Green, successor to the deceased Samuel Gompers as AFL President, delivered the major address at a joint meeting of the Taylor Society and the management division of the Society of Mechanical Engineers.

Green urged co-operation between workers and industrial engineers and advocated high wages and low production costs. 'Labour,' he said, 'stands ready and willing to do its part'.

Nadworny comments: 'The Society was greatly pleased with Green's speech, which was hailed as the outstanding event of the year. The favourable comments of business journals like "Factory", "The Wall Street Journal", and "Iron Trade Review", as well as those of the "New York World" and "New Republic", added to the impressive aura of the occasion.'

Robert Fechner of the Inter-

national Machinists' Union wrote to Green: 'I am sure we are all glad to know the official spokesman for the American Trade Union Movement is creating such a favourable impression among business men because such a course cannot fail to reflect itself in many beneficial ways for the welfare of the workers.'

The left wing of the trade union movement attacked what was going on as class collaboration, and, in May 1929, a meeting of the Taylor Society which was to have taken place in Charlotte, N Carolina, was postponed because the southern textile workers were striking against efficiency systems—particularly against the Bedaux system.

With the Wall St crash and the depression years the co-operation schemes crashed too. Nothing less than direct wage-cuts and mass sackings suited the employers.

Union leaders who had sold out again and again to the employers were not the men to provide a revolutionary alternative to the capitalist slump and workers' degradation when it came.

Speed-up and staff reductions, the two uses to which Taylor put his original discoveries in the field of work rationalization, have always been the fundamental objective of work-study operation under capitalism.

When the working class appears to be weak and in no position to fight back, managements do not attempt to hide their plans and 'Taylorism', scientific management or the Bedaux system openly appear on the scene to further establish unemployment.

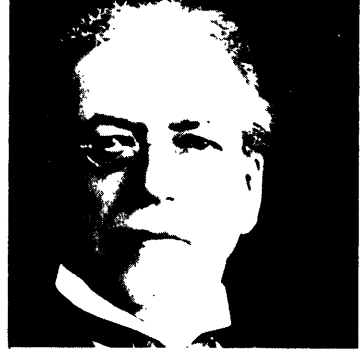
In times when the working class is strong, the name is changed and the union leaders are called in to do the work in the name of 'workers' participation in management'.

In both cases the system comes under the strongest state patronage, and so is made into a political weapon of the capitalist class.

For a while, in Britain, participation has been in vogue, though only because it is seen by the government and the employers as a preparation for more stringent measures.

Books and pamphlets have appeared on the scene to deny all connection between modern productivity deals and past systems.

Together with Nadworny, the experts produce books critical of the non-human, non-psychological approach of the first scientific management men. However, also like Nadworny, they cannot help quietly admiring the early Taylorites and their ruthless methods, assigning them an honourable place in the history of United States capitalism.



Samuel GOMPERS

Faced with this development of exploitation organized US workers had no hesitation in opposing Taylorism and all it stood for.

The union leaders, especially those of the skilled workers' unions, were also left with little alternative but to oppose scientific management.

In 1911, the American Federation of Labour executive council denounced the premium or bonus system as being designed 'to drive workmen beyond the point necessary to safety'.

AFL affiliates were advised to resist 'the extension of the speeding system' and the head of the AFL, Samuel Gompers, attacked motion study and its attempt to mechanize the worker.

This resulted not only in strikes against Taylor's system where it was in operation, but, more commonly, in the complete inability of managements to

## REVIEW BY JANE BROWN

### THE FRENCH Revolution of 1789 was a bourgeois revolution.

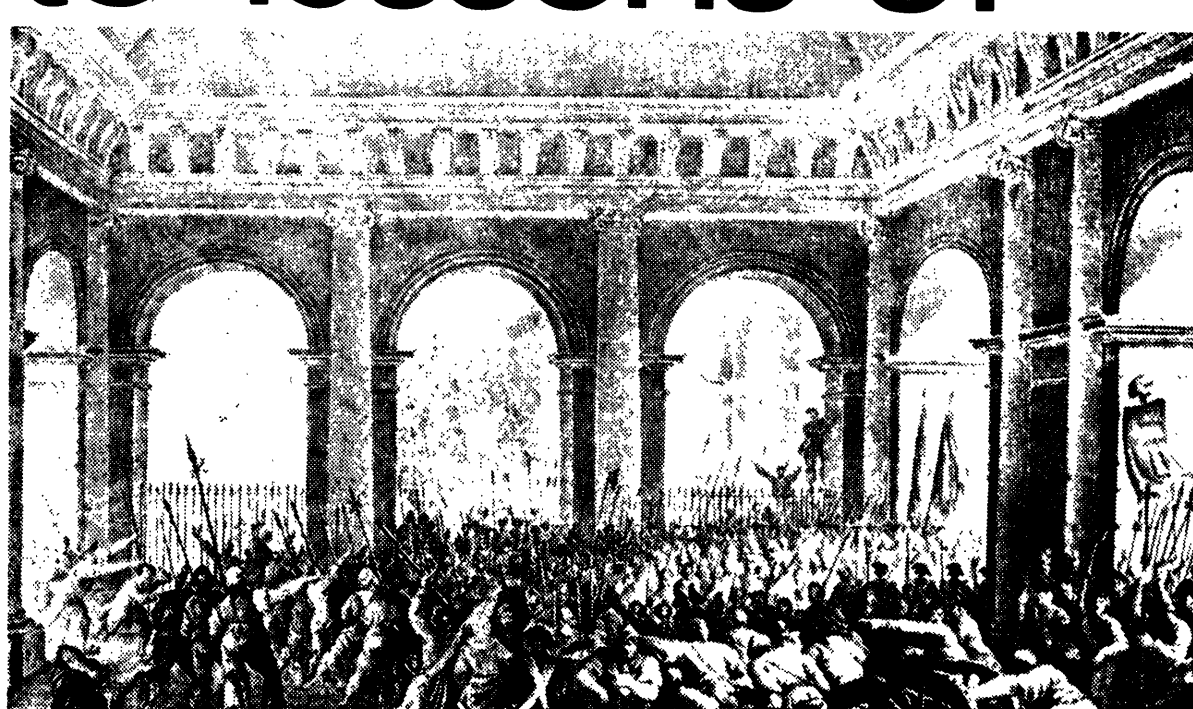
It resulted in the destruction of the aristocratic, feudal ruling class, and guaranteed the upper middle-class merchants and capitalists that even after the restoration of the monarchy in 1815, their interests would be at the centre of government policy-making.

Yet all leading Marxists have recognized that a study of the class alignments in the Revolution, especially of the rise and fall of the popular, 'sans-culotte' movement, is of great importance to those who are fighting for the proletarian revolution today.

Trotsky used many parallels from the French Revolution to describe the situation in Russia after 1917, and in particular the rise of Stalinism, which he saw as comparable to the Thermidorian reaction of the upper middle class against the sans-culotte movement in 1794, to culminate in Napoleon Bonaparte's dictatorship 1799-1814.

Though the French Revolution occurred at an earlier epoch than the Russian Revolution, it illustrates the complexity of class conflict between class forces in any period of revolutionary upheaval.

# Negative reactions to lessons of



'Sans-culotte' workers entering the Royal Palace of Versailles in Paris, October 1789

# French Revolution

point that the sans-culottes could not have led a successful socialist revolution, Cobb leads his readers on to accept that the sans-culotte movement was more or less politically insignificant.

The briefest glimpse of the world outside Cobb's prized 'regional' surveys—of the British workers' reaction to the popular triumphs of the 1790s, or the inspiration derived from these triumphs, and the lessons learnt from the Thermidorian reaction by Marxists and other political working-class leaders throughout the following century—reveals the utter falsity of such a conclusion.

It is not surprising to find that Cobb's only useful contribution to the study of the French Revolution is a negative one.

The sans-culottes were not the social equivalent of the 19th century industrial proletariat; they included craftsmen, journeymen, shop-keepers, small traders, and small peasants as well as a minority of factory workers, and consequently their political and economic theories were, in many respects, regional and backward-looking.

Moreover the sans-culotte movement undoubtedly was linked with the non-political forms of popular protest which occurred earlier and later (e.g. food riots, and desertions from the army, especially after 1795).

Cobb's description of the Thermidorian reaction is perhaps the best section of the book, since it demonstrates the bitter antagonism which the sans-culotte movement had aroused in a government dominated by 'farmers, prominent tradesmen and heads of commercial and industrial concerns'.

Such governments, at 1795, produced a police more repressive (because more efficient) than that of the ancien régime, to deal with the sans-culottes—80,000 to 90,000 sans-culottes were soon arrested and many deported.

Nearly 2,000 political murders occurred in 1795, during a 'White Terror' tolerated by the judicial authorities.

All government Acts which had been passed as a concession to the sans-culottes were rescinded. Popular organizations and societies were suppressed, and sans-culottes were dismissed from administrative posts, having first been disarmed.

Most significant of all from a

To the reader who actually wishes to learn anything about the popular movement in the Revolution, Cobb's book appears poorly planned, sketchily written, and at the same time, overloaded with a mass of undigested documentary evidence.

But the reader is not to criticize the author on these grounds; for Cobb assures us repeatedly that only 'chaotic' writing can accurately portray the 'chaos' of history!

'My main concern throughout has been to allow people to speak for themselves and to allow as much licence as possible to individual behaviour and to popular habit,' he explains.

'I am writing about people, not about movements.'

This quotation reveals very clearly that behind Cobb's pseudo-objectivism, and his constant belabouring of the obvious point that some generalizations can be over-simplified to the point of distortion, like the time-worn prejudices of the conservative historian: individualism, and contempt for the role of the working class.

Far from being averse to generalizations, Cobb produces many extremely crude ones which happen to fit in with his own preconceptions.

For example, on the reliability of the country policeman's reports to his superiors, 'he is both too unimaginative and too honourable to invent'.

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Starting from the obvious

**TV**

**BBC 1**  
9.38-11.55 a.m. Schools. 12.55 p.m. Ble carech chi fynd? 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Basil Brush show. 5.25 Ask Aspel. 5.44 Babar. 5.50 News and weather.  
6.00 EUROPE THIS WEEK.  
6.20 TOMORROW'S WORLD.  
6.45 THE VIRGINIAN. Nightmare at Fort Killman.  
8.00 DAD'S ARMY. 'Don't Forget the Diver'  
8.30 NOT ONLY... BUT ALSO. Peter Cook and Dudley Moore.  
9.10 THE NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.  
9.20 'THE FIRST FREEDOM'. A factual account of the criminal proceedings in the Moscow Provincial Court in 1966 against Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel.  
10.45 24 HOURS.  
11.20 CONFERENCE REPORT 70. Labour Party Conference.  
11.30 WEATHER.

**REGIONAL BBC**  
All regions as BBC 1 except:  
Midlands. E Anglia. 6.00-6.20 Midlands today. Look East. weather. 11.32 News, weather.  
North. NW, NE, Cumberland and Westmorland. 6.00-6.20 Midlands today. Look East. weather. 11.32 News, weather.  
Wales. 11.30-1.45 Ar lin mam. 6.00-6.20 Wales today. weather. 6.45-7.15 Heddiw. 7.05-7.30 Dyna wall. 7.30.

**BBC 2**  
11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL.  
7.30 p.m. NEWS ROOM and weather.  
8.00 TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT.  
8.30 EUROPA.  
9.00 THIRTY MINUTE THEATRE. 'The Year of the Crow'. Drama set in 16th century Florence.  
9.30 REVIEW. Erte—High Priest of Camp, and Bartok.  
10.15 NEWS ON 2 and weather.  
10.20 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

**ITV**  
9.30 a.m. Labour Party Conference. 11.00 Schools. 12 noon-12.30 p.m. Labour Party Conference. 1.40-2.55 Schools. 4.10 People to people. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Arthur! 5.20 Time slip. 5.50 News from ITN.  
6.03 TODAY.  
6.30 PEYTON PLACE.  
7.00 MAKING WHOPEE. Introduced by Kenny Everett.  
7.30 GUNSMOKE. 'Johnny Cross'.  
8.30 IF IT MOVES—FILE IT. 'Current Affairs'.  
9.00 DIAMOND CRACK DIAMOND. 'Diamond c/o Terson'.  
10.00 NEWS AT TEN. 10.30 POLICE 5.  
10.40 CONCEPTIONS OF MURDER. 'What Do They Know of England?'.  
11.05 FRIDAY FILM. 'The Defiant Ones'. With Tony Curtis and Sidney Poitier. Two convicts on a chain gang escape when a prison truck crashes.  
12.40 FATHER D'ARCY'S FRIENDS AND CONTEMPORARIES.

**REGIONAL ITV**  
CHANNEL: 11.00-2.55 London. 4.00 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.10 Zingalong. 4.25 Ghost and Mrs Muir. 4.55 London. 5.00 News, weather. 6.10 Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Dangerman. 8.30 London. 10.30 Watline. 'Sins of Rachel Cade'. 12.25 Weather.  
WESTWARD: As Channel except. 9.50-2.55 London. 3.58 News. 4.00 Gus Honeybum. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 12.28 Faith for life. 12.33 Weather.  
SOUTHERN: 10.00-2.55 London. 4.05 Pauline. 4.15 Ivor the engine. 4.30 London. 4.55 Robin Hood. 5.20 Time-

8.00 Bachelor father. 11.32 Weather. Scotland. 6.00-6.20 Reporting Scot. land. 8.30-9.00 Current account. 11.32 News, weather.  
N. Ireland. 6.00-6.20 Scene around six. weather. 8.30-9.00 Music for a while. 11.31 News, weather.  
SW. South, West. 6.00-6.20 Points West. South today. Spotlight SW. weather. 11.32 News, weather.

HTV (West) colour channel 61 as above except. 4.23-4.25. 6.01-6.35 Report West.  
HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 and HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white above except. 5.20-5.50 Am y gorau. 6.01-6.18 y dydd. 10.30-11.00 Welshsene.  
ANGLIA: 9.30-2.55 London. 4.25 Newsroom. 4.35 Romper room. 4.55 London. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.25 Crossroads. 7.00 From a Bird's eye view. 7.30 Mike and Bernie's special. 8.25 London. 10.30 Baron. 11.30 Midland member special: Labour Party Conference. 11.45 Object in view, weather.  
ULSTER: 9.30-2.31 London. 4.15 En-joy. 4.30 Romper room. 4.55 News. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 7.30 Laredo. 8.30 London. 10.30. Deadline. 11.00 Film 'Sugar-foot'. With Randolph Scott and Raymond Massey. A Confederate officer tries to start a new life in Arizona after the Civil War.  
YORKSHIRE: 10.00 London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Zingalong. 4.30 London. 4.40 Calendar. 4.55 London. 6.00 Beverly hillsbillies. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 It it moves—file it. 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 Yorksport. 11.00 Edgar Wallace. 12.10 Weather.  
GRANADA: 9.30-12.30 London. 1.40-2.30 London. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.01 Six-o-one. 6.25 Put it in writing. 6.35 Man from Uncle. 7.30 This is... Tom Jones. 8.25 London. 10.30 Thriller: 'Peeping Tom'. With Carl Boehm, Moira Shearer and Anna Massey. A child who was a ruined pig for his scientist father's experiments turns into an insane killer.  
TYNE TEES: 9.30-2.31 London. 4.35 Newsroom. 4.40 London. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Making whoopee! 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 It it moves—file it. 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30. Thriller: 'Birdman of Alcatraz'. With Burt Lancaster and Karl Malden. 11.05 News.  
BORDER: 9.30-2.45 London. 4.10 News. 4.12 Training the family dog. 4.40 London. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 Puffin's birthday greetings. 6.25 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 If it moves—file it. 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30. Thriller: 'Portrait of a Mobster'. With Vic Morrow, Leslie Parrish, Ray Danton and Norman Alden. Two gangsters leave New York to crash a Chicago organization. 12.15 News, weather.  
SCOTTISH: 9.45-2.55 London. 3.40 Dateline. 3.50 Your stars tomorrow. 3.52 Women today. 4.15 Zingalong. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.50 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.40 Patterns of folk. 7.00 Feature: 'Slattery's Hurricane'. With Richard Widmark, Linda Darnell and Veronica Lake. 8.25 London. 10.30 In camera. 11.00 Fact and fantasy. 11.30 Late call.  
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**JUST OUT**

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS

**STALINISM IN BRITAIN**

A TROTSKYIST ANALYSIS

BY ROBERT BLACK

Available from New Park Publications, 186A Clapham High St. SW4. Price 24s post incl.



# Nasser

FROM PAGE ONE

The actual bourgeoisification of this landed feudal class began in the 19th century, after the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt, under Muhammad Ali, but gained momentum properly only after the financial invasion of the country by French and British capital during the murderous construction of the Suez Canal in the 1860s.

Before the end of the century the country had been mortgaged by the monarchic dynasty to French and British capital and, under Lord Cromer, Britain established a de facto 'Protectorate' over Egypt.

The fellahin became serfs working for Manchester textiles on the cotton fields, while their feudal masters became junior partners in super-exploitation of British and French capitalists. This was the historical origin of the bourgeoisification of the upper layer of the feudal class.

## SUBSERVIENT

As a result of this process, when the Misr Bank was formed after the First World War, the feudal-bourgeoisie had already become subservient to British and French imperialism.

They controlled the Wafdist Party and this control moved over to the Arab Socialist Union party which arose out of the Free Officers' Group that overthrew King Farouk in 1952.

The nationalization of the big landowners and banks simply gave the old feudal-capitalists more direct access to the apparently anti-feudal state machine run by the militarized bureaucracy, led by Nasser.

The transfer of Misr political influence to the Republican state involved greater ties with imperialism, despite nationalizations after the British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956.

By paying massive compensation to the nationalized British, French, Belgian, etc., banks, and the Suez Canal Company itself, Egypt once more became increasingly pledged financially to imperialism.

But this time it was a Republic, not a monarchy and this time a new imperialist power, the US, was also involved.

The process of loans to Egypt, including \$ US 1 billion in the last ten years, enabled imperialism, with or without diplomatic relations, before and after its various military invasions via Israel, to continually expand domination of the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

## BORROW

The compensation became so great that the Egyptian Treasury had constantly to borrow from the World Bank.

This, in turn, imposed new capital and interest repayments on the Treasury and further mortgaged it to the point of perennial near-bankruptcy.

The fellahin and workers, in the end had to pay for this western 'aid'.

## Kosygin in Cairo talks

SOVIET Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin had separate meetings in Cairo yesterday with the leaders of Syria, Algeria and Sudan. 'Tass' reported from the Egyptian capital.

Kosygin and the Arab leaders were in Cairo for the funeral of President Nasser.

## WEATHER

A rather cold north-westerly air-stream covers the British Isles. It will be cloudy with occasional rain in SE England at first, but apart from this all districts will have showers and sunny periods. The showers will be more frequent in the West and North, and will be heaviest in the west of Scotland and N Ireland. They will fall as sleet or snow over high ground in Scotland. It will be rather cold in the North, with ground frost at first in sheltered parts of Scotland. Temperatures near normal in the South.

## LATE NEWS

**MID EAST — AGREEMENT.** Ramtha, Jordanian Border, Oct. 1, Reuters — Jordanian and Palestinian guerrilla officers, meeting in a cellar in this war-battered border town, signed an agreement today to restore peace to N Jordan.

**DALY 'NO TO ROBENS TRIBUNAL'**  
National Union of Mineworkers' general secretary Lawrence Daly, yesterday rejected National Coal Board chairman Lord Robens' suggestion that miners should allow arbitration tribunal on their pay claim. 'This is because of the resolution,' Daly said, 'of our annual conference that if our demand for a £20 minimum is rejected we should take strike action.'

# CONFERENCE COMMENTS

## 'Four-day, three-ringed circus'

FUTURE Labour Party conferences would generate into Albert Hall promenade concerts if the parliamentary party continued to ignore delegates decisions.

This was the message from delegates who pushed through Wednesday's resolution demanding that conference policy should be carried out by the party leadership.

'Cynicism and apathy is now sweeping the ranks of the Party,' remarked Margaret McCarthy, delegate from Oxfordshire Federation, to the Workers Press.

### Apparent

'This has been apparent from this week's deliberations.'

'I spoke up for the resolution because this alienation is growing as a result of the degeneration of conferences into four-day, three-ringed circuses.'

'The main threat facing the labour movement now is that a deep feeling of alienation is growing in the grass roots of the party.'

'It was indicative that the platform did not support the resolution. What we must do now is break down this reluctance and open negotiations with the National Executive Committee to make sure real provision is made for the carrying out of Wednesday's decision.'

'I would like to see more separation between the NEC and the Parliamentary Labour Party.'

'I would also like to see provision in the PLP for the discussion of conference decisions and how they can be carried out.'

'If they do not do this, we might as well all go to the Albert Hall instead of conference next year.'

**Passionate**  
Manchester Exchange delegate Chris Muir also backed the resolution with a passionate rostrum speech. But speaking to us after

called mainly for measures to expand the economy, continue with regional development and insure workers' interests were considered in mergers.

And the AEF-Draftsmen's Association motion devoted to mergers just reaffirmed nationalization as a 'basic position' and then hurried on to the usual reformist claptrap about guarantees of job security or alternative work.

The composite on regional development, moved by mine-workers' general secretary Lawrence Daly, went one better—with an instruction to the NEC to press the Tories to expand employment in development areas.

A motion calling for a freely available comprehensive family planning service was moved by Mrs Yvonne Craig (Bristol) who is a clergyman's wife and a magistrate.

No one wanted to prevent illegitimacy simply by contraception, she said. But until religious and moral training succeeded, how could they restrict family planning facilities only to the married? she asked.

**Reply**  
Ex-MP Miss Jennie Lee, former Minister for the Arts, replying to this and other resolutions on the National Health Service, said:

'I regard these prescription charges as a piece of self-mutilation which ought never to have happened, but we would be playing the Tory game at this conference if we spent too much time pointing out each of those shortcomings.'

Miss Lee, Aneurin Bevan's widow, was in tears when the 1,100 delegates gave her a standing ovation.

This is her last appearance on the platform as a NEC member.

Delegates approved the resolution. They also carried another resolution urging the National Executive to prepare clear and simple plans for the further socialization and democratic control of all health services.

In a debate on social security, Merthyr Tydfil delegate Bill King moved that there should be an immediate substantial rise in the retirement pension rate. He said annual review and adjustment of the rate should also be made.

**Rights**  
He said there were over seven million old-age pensioners in Britain and the labour movement could not ignore their just right to be amongst those who enjoyed an improved standard of living.

Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, moved an emergency resolution which, he said, would enable the conference to come firmly down in unity on behalf of the old-age pensioners.

The motion proposed that a better deal for the aged must be a top priority for the party this winter, not only in parliament but through a massive campaign, bringing in the trade unions, the co-operative movement and the National Federation of Old-Age Pensioners' Associations.

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# Wages

FROM PAGE ONE

was welcomed by the capitalist class:

'On the two major controversial issues—the Common Market and incomes policy, Mr Wilson's authority survived intact... to his delight, he has received the assurance from the most militant trade union leader, Hugh Scanlon, that the unions will fight for his re-election as their leader just the same.' (Nora Beloff, 'The Observer', October 5, 1969.)

## Not saved

The actions of Scanlon in propping up Wilson did not save the Labour government. Instead it guaranteed the defeat of Labour in June 1970.

The moral of the Brighton conference is palpably clear: the capitalist economy can be strengthened only by weakening the trade unions.

If Mr Scanlon cannot see this and remains eternally surprised at the statements of Jenkins and Wilson, it is because he is a 'left' reformist who cannot conceive of a Britain without Tories and capitalists.

And if, in 1969, he could not pose an alternative to Wilson, then the experience of Blackpool 1970 must surely show that neither Scanlon nor Jones can lead any effective struggle against the Tories and their anti-union laws.

## Bankrupt

Blackpool shows the opportunism and bankruptcy of Labour and trade union reformism.

Conversely, the Liverpool conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance on Saturday will demonstrate the revolutionary strength and political clarity of the working class!

We say:

- Learn the lesson of Blackpool and build the alternative leadership to the reformists!
- Fight for the charter of demands!
- Defend the trade unions by forcing the Tories to resign!

This step reflects the growing rank-and-file anger that company talk last April of a Golden Age of expansion actually means attempting to solve company problems at the workers' expense.

The management is reported to have actually issued notices to part-time workers in the distribution centre (spares), but offered to accommodate them in the switchgear factory provided storekeepers there worked overtime.

The evening shift is seen as an attempt to break the overtime ban and a subtle device to create divisions among the workers. Transferring an evening shift to an area that is already short of work and paying them their normal 400-500 per cent piecework level would create hostility.

Part-time workers would no doubt be told that the shop stewards refused to agree to the conditions that

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The Communist Party, eager to discover divisions in the majority, even found itself warning in June of the ultra-clerical reactionary on the right wing of the Christian Democratic Party, when he opposed Colombo's formula for 'insulating' the government's majority.

**'Spy-in-the cab' again**  
RUMOURS continue to circulate in Whitehall that the Ministry of Transport is again examining the idea of introducing compulsory tachographs in Britain.

According to the road haulage trade paper 'Headlight', the recorder, referred to by many drivers as the spy-in-the-cab, would be introduced with a view to keeping in step with the Common Market, where they are about to be made mandatory.

The Tory government is already empowered to compel the instrument's installation under the terms of the Labour government's 1968 Transport Act.

Previously Tory Minister Mr J. Peyton had said that the cost of introduction—£30 million for their installation in 650,000 vehicles—would be prohibitive.

**Hot general**  
GENERAL Creighton Abrams, 56-year-old commander of United States forces in Vietnam, is recovering in an American military hospital in Saigon after collapsing from the heat at a military inspection in a nearby coastal resort.

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# CAV senior stewards say no to sackings

SHOP STEWARDS at CAV, Acton, called a summons committee meeting last Wednesday to discuss the redundancy issue.

From our industrial correspondent

It is reported that management has selected 16 workers on the machines factory assembly line. Ten of these have two years or less service, so the company will avoid paying anything out in the form of redundancy money.

Senior stewards have made it plain they refuse to be a party to the redundancies and have told the management they will fight each individual case as it arises.

In line with the policy of no redeployment with loss of earnings, one senior steward has said that 'once a job was declared redundant it would stay that way'.

**Not worked**  
In other words the remaining workers in the team concerned would not perform the duties of the man or woman who had been sacked.

This would mean, of course, that all assembly-line production would cease altogether!

'The management cannot have it both ways,' commented another steward. 'Either the job exists or it doesn't.'

This step reflects the growing rank-and-file anger that company talk last April of a Golden Age of expansion actually means attempting to solve company problems at the workers' expense.

The management is reported to have actually issued notices to part-time workers in the distribution centre (spares), but offered to accommodate them in the switchgear factory provided storekeepers there worked overtime.

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# Admit Mao to 'thieves' kitchen'

SAYS BELGIUM

CHINA should be admitted to the United Nations as soon as possible, Belgian Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel told the UN general assembly in New York yesterday.

The representatives of the People's Republic of China, he said, 'should occupy the seat which belongs to China in the Assembly and the Security Council.'

Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa should be represented separately, he added.

# Viet peace negotiations expected to stagger on

THE DEADLOCKED Vietnam peace talks went into their 86th session in Paris yesterday, two days before chief United States negotiator David Bruce reports to President Nixon on latest National Liberation Front proposals.

NLF representative Madame Nguyen Thi Binh said yesterday:

'We are still waiting for a serious response from the American side.'

Bruce is expected to tell Nixon that serious negotiations may still be possible at the Paris talks.

Main planks of the new NLF proposals are a pledge to refrain from attacking US troops if they agree to withdraw by mid-1971, and a proposal to change the present top leaders of the Saigon regime.

# ZIONIST ATTACKS: Soviet complaints

THE SOVIET government protested to the United States yesterday about its failure to stop Zionist provocations and threats against Soviet citizens in the US.

A note handed to the US embassy in Moscow complained of 'an unbridled campaign' by Zionist organizations, particularly the Jewish Defence League.

The Soviet embassy in Washington and Aeroflot and Intourist offices had been attacked, the note said.

'This can only have unfavourable consequences for the relations between our two states.'

# Tight squeeze

YESTERDAY'S cabinet meeting dealt further with the formation of a watchdog group—possibly of ministers and officials—whose job it will be to tighten the squeeze on government spending, especially the social services.

# Anti-immigrant move in Switzerland

THE reactionary campaign against foreign workers in Switzerland has been resumed with a demand by James Schwarzenbach for a special tax on employers of foreign labour.

According to the Berne daily newspaper 'Bund' a campaign along these lines has already been planned.

Schwarzenbach, a Zurich parliamentarian, has documented

the fear of this is reflected in the internal squabbles of his centre-left coalition (of Christian Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats and Republicans).

Catholics are opposed to the lay parties in the debate on divorce proposals now before parliament which also raises the possibility of renewed political interference by the Pope.

The Communist Party, eager to discover divisions in the majority, even found itself warning in June of the ultra-clerical reactionary on the right wing of the Christian Democratic Party, when he opposed Colombo's formula for 'insulating' the government's majority.

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